

## The Grand Opening?

### The Transformation of the Content of Culture Sections in European Newspapers, 1960–2010

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#### Abstract

This study presents an analysis of changes in the coverage of culture in major European newspapers from 1960 to 2010. Employing a content analysis of the newspapers, we examine how culture sections have changed in terms of the cultural areas covered. We ask whether the content of cultural coverage has become more heterogeneous and whether newspapers embedded in different geographical and cultural contexts differ in this respect. To assess heterogeneity, we first focus on the opening of culture through the increase in coverage of emerging art forms at the expense of the coverage of established art forms. Next, we turn our attention to music and measure openness according to the increase of pop-rock content. The results suggest a cultural opening, albeit mostly measured by the second proxy. Established art forms hold their mainstream position, while emerging forms are validated at a slower pace than expected. Regarding music, the transformation of coverage from classical music to pop-rock is very dramatic. The findings challenge expectations about the order in which the newspapers manifest the timing and thoroughness of the opening of culture, highlighting the complexity of the factors shaping newspapers' cultural coverage.

#### Keywords

Cultural legitimacy, classifications, cultural change, newspapers, popular culture, music

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## 1. Introduction

How have the classifications and hierarchies of arts and culture changed over the last decades? More precisely, has the “content” of legitimate culture become more heterogeneous and open; that is, have new forms of (popular) culture been included in the conception of legitimate culture in addition to more established highbrow arts? If so, what are the geographic and cultural limits of this post-1960s cultural transformation towards increased openness and heterogeneity?

This paper provides a bird’s-eye view of long-term changes in cultural hierarchies and the content of legitimate culture through the lens of a specific institution in the field of cultural production: culture sections in quality European newspapers. We employ a quantitative content analysis of cultural coverage in six major European newspapers from 1960 to 2010. The analysis of a large sample of newspaper articles on culture allows us to assess the extent to which the heterogeneity of cultural coverage has increased over the last fifty years, if increased heterogeneity signifies an emergence of new cultural areas and art forms that have become recognized with the status of “art” or “culture,” or, rather if heterogeneity has increased through the transformation of content inside the boundaries of established arts, and, finally, whether newspapers published in different parts of Europe are similar regarding these trends.

This paper opens with a look at different perspectives through which the heterogenization of the content of legitimate culture can be conceptualized, as well as at previous work analyzing newspapers as a means to understand cultural change. After a section clarifying our hypotheses, the comparative setting of the analysis, and the research design, the results section will firstly examine the possible increase in the coverage of emerging art forms at the expense of the established arts. The second analysis will focus on articles on music and ask to what extent there has been a shift in the balance between popular music and classical music over the fifty-year period. The paper concludes by reflecting on the results and methodological aspects of the study.

### *1.1 Heterogenization and the opening up of legitimate culture: Theoretical perspectives*

Cultural hierarchies and classifications vary historically and cross-nationally (DiMaggio 1982, 1987; Levine 1988; Peterson 1997; Daloz 2010; Lamont 2012). Bourdieu famously argues that

cultural and social hierarchies are homological (e.g., that a taste for “high” arts is highly class dependent), resulting in a situation in which prescriptions of legitimate culture contribute to the reproduction of inequality (Bourdieu 1984). However, a wide range of studies casts into doubt the role of traditional highbrow culture as a status marker and suggests that legitimate culture itself is becoming more inclusive, combining items from both highbrow and popular milieus (e.g., Peterson 1992; Peterson & Kern 1996; DiMaggio & Mukhtar 2004; Van Eijck & Knulst 2005; Prieur & Savage 2011). Most famously, this trend of “opening up” and increasing the heterogenization of legitimate culture’s content is conceptualized as the rise of the cultural omnivore (Peterson 1992, 2005; Peterson & Kern 1996; for a review, see Karademir Hazir & Warde 2015). The omnivore scholarship shows that high status groups tend to appreciate broad repertoires of taste, whereas low status groups’ tastes are more narrow and univorous. While this notion does not necessarily contradict Bourdieu’s model (if omnivorousness is taken as a new form of cultural capital yielding various benefits; Lizardo & Skiles 2012), it nevertheless implies that the concept of legitimate culture has widened and become more heterogeneous.

Omnivorousness, however, is only one way to approach the post-1960s cultural transformation. There are plenty of more or less intertwined perspectives and research strands that conceptualize the “grand opening” and its key elements: the increased heterogenization of legitimate culture and the two sides of that process, the rise of popular culture and the decline of traditional highbrow culture’s status. Studies analyzing cultural participation longitudinally ask whether audiences of highbrow arts are shrinking and aging, thus causing the “meltdown” of highbrow arts’ status as a means for distinction (DiMaggio & Mukhtar 2004). A more recent discussion on the “emerging forms” of cultural capital argues that distinctions and hierarchies are increasingly developing within the realm of popular culture (Prieur & Savage 2011, 2013; Friedman et al. 2015; Savage et al. 2015). As a consequence, clear hierarchies structure the fields of popular culture (Varriale 2016).

An intersecting line of research deals with the legitimation of popular culture via intellectualization and aestheticization (Regev 1994; Baumann 2001; Schmutz 2005, 2016), highlighting how new forms of culture can be transformed “from entertainment to art” (Baumann 2007) by extending the high-art criteria of evaluative practices (Van Venroij & Schmutz 2010) or by other processes of “artification” (Heinich & Shapiro 2012). Then again, studies and debates on the commercialization of culture probe whether changes in the balance of established arts and popular culture result from the competition between commercial legitimation and aesthetic legitimation, in which commercial

values might take over artistic values and the autonomous status of the arts (Bourdieu 1993; Hesmondhalgh 2007; Scardaville 2009; Verboord 2011; Schmutz 2016).

One related stream of research focuses on the role of cultural globalization and aesthetic cosmopolitanism (Tomlinson 1999; Regev 2013; Varriale 2015, 2016, forthcoming). Classical highbrow arts—the core content of traditional legitimate culture—have represented essentially a European cultural canon, which has been challenged by global flows and influences, especially the emergence of popular world culture. The most notable example of this is the “poprockization” of music throughout the world, namely, the growing influence of American (and British) pop-rock music and its local adaptations, which is conceptualized as “expressive isomorphism” standardizing the national peculiarities in world culture (Regev 2013; Varriale 2016). Finally, technological changes, especially digitalization, may play a role in the increase of cultural heterogeneity, as the proliferation of distributable and portable cultural forms and the ease of consuming them are clearly factors behind the present “cultural abundance” (Wright 2011, 2015).

Without doubt, these myriad aspects of the heterogenization of legitimate culture could be considered parts of a more general sociological narrative about changes in the Western world over the latter part of the twentieth century, in which the key has been a shift from traditional and unquestionable authority to more flexible and plural authorities (be they aesthetic authorities or other types of rules of conduct). This shift can be called, for instance, “informalization” (Wouters 2007) or “expressive revolution” (Martin 1981). In any case, all the outlined processes contribute to cultural change which DiMaggio (1987:452) calls a trend towards “more differentiated and less hierarchical” and “weaker and less universal” cultural classifications.

### ***1.2 Newspapers as tastemakers***

The media, as an institution, plays a key role in how different cultural classifications and hierarchies appear, spread, become legitimized, and are debated (Janssen 1999). For this reason, newspapers, with their predefined culture or arts sections, provide useful data (Janssen et al. 2008, 2011; Jaakkola 2015). Moreover, sociologists often encounter a lack of suitable data sets enabling the tracking of long-term trends over several decades and across a variety of national contexts (Peterson 2005; Reeves 2015), and using newspaper data is a means to solve this problem.

Specialized sections on arts and culture were established in many major European newspapers around the middle of the twentieth century (Jaakkola 2015). These form a structural frame that

enables and moulds taste dispositions by producing symbolic value and hierarchies (Bourdieu 1993; Janssen 1999; Jaakkola 2015). Scholars consider quality newspapers especially influential in shaping public opinion on the value and legitimacy of art forms and cultural objects (Verboord et al. 2015).<sup>1</sup> Cultural journalists and critics are cultural intermediaries—both gatekeepers who select what will be showcased and tastemakers who define what counts as good taste (Bourdieu 1984; Smith, Maguire, & Matthews 2014; Janssen & Verboord 2015). Thus, changes in cultural legitimacy should be evident in their writings, or, more generally, in the cultural classifications and hierarchies represented in the media (Janssen 1999; Jaakkola 2015; Verboord et al. 2015). Therefore, the relative amount of newspaper space dedicated to particular art forms and genres is “indicative of their cultural status at a given point in time” (Janssen 1999:330).

Given their potential as a longitudinal and comparative data source for research on the supposed opening of culture during the last decades, newspaper cultural pages remain surprisingly understudied. A major exception, however, is a recent large-scale Dutch research project (e.g. Janssen et al. 2008, 2011; Verboord et al. 2015). This project’s various outputs shed light on how the evaluations of literature (Berkers et al. 2014); film (Kersten & Verboord 2014); music (Schmutz 2009; Schmutz et al. 2010; Van Venrooij & Schmutz 2010); and fashion products (Janssen 2006) have changed in different national contexts. In addition to understanding the dynamics of these distinct fields, the project uses newspaper content to reveal how broader processes of social and cultural change—such as globalization—influence cultural appreciation and hierarchies (Janssen et al. 2008). Newspapers are a fertile medium for exploring such issues, since depictions of cultural products in different national contexts are largely consistent with country-specific structural dynamics. For instance, the relatively less open cultural classification system identified in the analysis of German newspapers seems to be in accordance with the German educational system (conducive to cultural hierarchy), Germany’s journalistic field (state-dominated media system), and Germany’s cultural policy system (decentralized) (Janssen et al. 2011). Moreover, newspapers are a crucial data source because there seems to be a relationship between the form of journalistic attention devoted to particular art forms and genres and the location of those genres within the wider cultural hierarchy. For instance, the increase in popular music reviews—especially rock music—since the 1960s in the US press granted those genres legitimacy earlier than in other national contexts (Schmutz et al. 2010).

By broadening geographical coverage, our research contributes to existing knowledge on changes in the valuation and legitimation of culture through the visibility in quality newspapers and thus

provides one answer to the call to “uncover further national or longitudinal differences” (Janssen et al. 2011:161). The inclusion of newspapers from both Northern and Southern Europe—including one newspaper from Turkey, located literally on the border of Europe—allows us to question the limits and variations in cultural declassification observed by Janssen et al. (2011) and Schutz et al. (2010) as a general (albeit varying) trend in Central Europe and the United States. Enlarging the sample to include national contexts outside the core of Europe in many regards (i.e. the level of integration with globalization; history of democratization; and degree of interconnectedness in the fields of politics, art, and journalism) accentuates cross-cultural differences and allows us to test the cultural opening thesis more thoroughly. Moreover, our research differs from earlier studies (Schmutz et al. 2010; Janssen et al. 2011) in the sense that it covers only newspapers’ cultural sections rather than their entire content. By concentrating on explicit culture sections, we can let the newspapers decide on our behalf what counts as culture and what is valuable enough to be included under the culture section.

### ***1.3 Aims, hypotheses and the comparative setting***

We investigate if cultural content in quality European newspapers has become more open and heterogeneous, as implied by the abovementioned various debates in cultural sociology, from 1960 to 2010 in terms of the cultural areas and art forms (topics) discussed in articles found in cultural sections. These newspapers come from six European countries, ranging from two Nordic countries (*Helsingin Sanomat*, hereafter *HS*, from Finland, and *Dagens Nyheter*, *DN*, from Sweden) to two large Western European countries (*Le Monde*, *LM*, from France, and *The Guardian*, *GU*, from the UK), and, finally, two Mediterranean countries (*ABC/El País*, *ABC/EP*, from Spain, and *Milliyet*, *MIL*, from Turkey).

Our analysis is guided by the hypothesis (H1) that, between 1960 and 2010, the conception of culture has opened in terms of cultural areas and genres discussed in newspaper culture sections, revealing that the dominance of classical established arts has dwindled. We should be able to track this trend in two ways: (H1a) through the increased heterogeneity of cultural content caused by the appearance of emerging art forms that have gained space at the expense of traditional and established art forms (which, in other words, should be manifested as an upward trend in the proportion of articles discussing emerging cultural areas); and, (H1b) through the shift in the volume of the articles on classical and popular music (seen as an upward trend in the proportion of articles on pop-rock music). Besides focusing on emerging cultural areas, we concentrate on music in particular because it enables us to measure the relative amount of space dedicated to traditional

“high” culture and more recent popular cultural forms within perhaps the most established and institutionalized art form in modern Western societies (Frith 1996; Peterson & Kern 1996; Roy & Dowd 2010).

Our second hypothesis concerns differences between newspapers embedded in different European contexts characterized by specific cultural, historical, and socio-political features, in addition to differences in the newspapers’ institutional and field-level (organizational) characteristics. This hypothesis (H2) states that there is significant variation in the thoroughness and timing of the opening of cultural content among the newspapers studied (including both cases of H1a and H1b).

We do not claim that the newspapers selected are nationally representative cases and thus directly express national differences. Nevertheless, the newspapers are linked to specific European contexts with their own sociohistorical and structural characteristics, which the newspapers’ content reflects. There are also several other influential factors to consider, and we expect the differences between the newspapers to signify at least three society-level dimensions (cf. DiMaggio 1987; Van Venrooij & Schmutz 2010; Janssen et al. 2011). First, we must pay attention to the different locations in the global—and Western-dominated—cultural system, our expectation being that the opening happened earlier and more thoroughly in central countries (Appadurai 1996; Janssen et al. 2008). According to this dimension, the UK and France clearly represent the centre, whereas Spain, Nordic countries (among which Sweden is clearly closer to the global cultural centres than Finland), and especially Turkey are examples of more peripheral locations in the global cultural system. Second, we assume that the different media system models play a significant role, our expectation being that the opening happened earlier and more thoroughly in “liberal” model countries (represented in our study of the UK) rather than “democratic corporatist” (Finland, Sweden) or “polarized pluralist” (France, Spain, Turkey) models (Hallin & Mancini 2004). Third, we should remember that different cultural policy regimes have a strong influence on the dynamics of cultural fields and hierarchies (Looseley 2011; Katz-Gerro 2015). Our expectation is that the opening of culture happened later in countries where established and traditional art forms were heavily state subsidized (Janssen et al. 2011). This dimension suggests that France and Nordic countries, where state funding for the established arts is high (ACE 1998), might have adopted new cultural forms later than the other countries examined (UK, Spain, and Turkey).

Taken together, and to specify our second hypothesis, these three society-level dimensions suggest that the newspapers can be ordered, according to how their national contexts have facilitated the

opening of culture, in a way that (H2a) the British *GU* represents the earliest opening and the Turkish *MIL* represents the last. Among the other newspapers, we expect (H2b) the Finnish *HS* to be the second latest. Overall, our study echoes Fishman and Lizardo's (2013:215) questioning of the assumption that the mechanisms and processes behind cultural change "operate in a largely case-free manner." Thus, we argue that differences in the geographical and cultural locations provide the background for a fruitful comparative analysis of the transformation of the newspapers' cultural content and, therefore, of the changes in cultural classifications and hierarchies over the last five decades.

## 2. Research design

### 2.1 Data

Data from the culture sections of *ABC/EP*, *DN*, *GU*, *HS*, *LM*, and *MIL* from 1960 to 2010 were collected between 2013 and 2014. The sample was collected at ten-year intervals, including volumes from six time points (1960, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2010). To eliminate seasonal variation in arts coverage, the method of "constructed weeks" was used (Riffe et al. 1993; Janssen et al. 2008). Each research year was divided into thirds from which one full week was randomly constructed, totalling three weeks per selected year. The sample includes 18–21 editions of each newspaper per year (depending on whether the newspaper was published six or seven days a week), which amounts to 711 editions altogether.

The data were coded, following a predefined coding system, into a statistical matrix.<sup>2</sup> The unit of our content analysis is an individual article (N=13,161). The data only include articles with journalistic content published in culture sections—both the core cultural pages inside the newspaper as well as thematic cultural supplements.

All the newspapers analyzed are nationally leading quality papers with comparable levels of circulation, albeit in different geographical and cultural regions in Europe (cf. Janssen et al. 2008; Jaakkola 2015; Verboord et al. 2015). *HS*, founded in 1889, has a moderate social-democratic tendency and is Finland's most widely read newspaper, with almost no national competition (Jaakkola 2015). *HS* set the model for choosing the other national cases. *GU* is similar to *HS* in both its moderate centre-left voice and circulation levels (Taylor 1993). *DN* is among the biggest newspapers in Sweden and shares *HS*'s political leanings (Hadenius 2002). *LM*, the most widely read newspaper of France, shares the previously mentioned newspapers' moderate leftist political



tendencies (Eveno 2004). In Spain, *EP*, founded just after the end of Franco's right-wing dictatorship in 1976, is a logical counterpart to the other selected newspapers. However, for the period of 1960 to 1970, with no comparable alternative available, we had to use the monarchist, right-wing *ABC*, the most influential Spanish newspaper at the time (Olmos 2002). For Turkey, we chose *MIL* because it is the most widely circulated newspaper, published without interruptions between 1960 and 2010. Moreover, *MIL* is a politically centred paper that falls in line with the rest of the sample (Topuz 2003). The online supplement (Table A.1) presents more information on the newspapers.

Table 1 shows the distribution of the data across years and among newspapers. The way our sample is distributed by year for each newspaper reveals how the culture sections have been structured and changed in terms of volume (as reflected in the number of articles).

**Table 1.** Breakdown of the data by year and newspaper (percent of total and number of articles).

	<b>ABC/EP</b>	<b>DN</b>	<b>GU</b>	<b>HS</b>	<b>LM</b>	<b>MIL</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>1960</b>	1.4 (182)	2.7 (355)	2.0 (258)	3.0 (399)	1.4 (186)	0.7 (87)	11.1 (1,467)
<b>1970</b>	3.6 (475)	3.6 (478)	1.1 (145)	3.0 (392)	3.0 (397)	1.0 (128)	15.3 (2,015)
<b>1980</b>	2.4 (311)	2.3 (309)	1.1 (144)	2.5 (334)	2.3 (306)	1.0 (134)	11.7 (1,538)
<b>1990</b>	4.1 (540)	3.3 (430)	3.1 (403)	3.6 (479)	1.8 (237)	1.0 (130)	16.9 (2,219)
<b>2000</b>	7.3 (955)	3.3 (433)	2.6 (348)	4.3 (572)	3.7 (490)	2.0 (260)	23.2 (3,058)
<b>2010</b>	2.3 (305)	3.9 (517)	3.4 (441)	5.0 (660)	2.2 (294)	4.9 (647)	21.8 (2,864)
<b>Total</b>	21.0 (2,768)	19.2 (2,522)	13.2 (1,739)	21.5 (2,836)	14.5 (1,910)	10.5 (1,386)	100.0 (13,161)

Overall, the data are quite evenly distributed both in terms of years and newspapers, albeit with some exceptions. The total number of articles generally increased towards the 2000s. In the sense of pure volume, the newspapers fall into two categories: larger (*ABC/EP*, *DN*, *HS*) and smaller (*GU*, *LM*, *MIL*). Moreover, the Nordic papers, *HS* and *DN*, differ from both the Central European and Southern European cases in the amount of journalistic attention given to culture in 1960. In the case of *MIL*, there was quite a dramatic increase in 2010, whilst in the case of *EP* there was a clear decrease in 2010 compared to 2000 or 1990.

## ***2.2 Procedure and variables***

Articles from the culture sections were coded using ATLAS.ti software, according to a coding system including 49 variables. We conducted standard inter-coder reliability tests (Krippendorff 2004). The mean of Krippendorff's alpha level of the variables used in this paper is 0.81, which is good. For the two most important variables, the primary cultural area discussed in the articles and the musical subgenre, the alpha is 0.84 (ranging between the newspapers from 0.76 to 0.97) and 0.81 (ranging from 0.78 to 0.86), respectively. The coding process overall and more precisely some of the variables and their categories were designed following the example of Janssen et al. (2008, 2011).<sup>3</sup>

The key variable—the primary cultural area discussed in the articles<sup>4</sup>—was coded into 21 categories ranging from the most established and classical art forms (music, literature, etc.) to more popular and modern areas of culture, such as film or computer games (cf. Janssen et al. 2011; Jaakkola 2015). The variable also included cultural areas other than conventional art forms (e.g. cultural policy), hence why we use the term “cultural area”. Table 2 shows all categories.

A dichotomous measure for emerging versus established cultural areas was recoded from the variable of cultural area by first singling out the established art forms (music, literature, theatre, fine arts, architecture, dance, and opera). Two article topics (“cultural policy” and “science, society, and philosophy”), as well as the category “other”, were not included in this variable at all. Apart from these demarcations, everything else was interpreted as emerging cultural areas, including, for example, film, television, radio, photography, media and journalism, comics, and computer and console games. Thus, the content of our variable “emerging cultural area” is largely in line with discussions about “emerging cultural capital” and the areas it possibly includes (e.g. Roose 2015). Our aim is to find out if the “emerging” cultural areas thus defined have really emerged in our newspaper sample.

Articles discussing music were further coded into nine categories: Western classical/art music; pop music (with a wide definition including rock, heavy metal, punk, indie, etc.); electronic dance music; rap and hip-hop; jazz; world music; traditional folk music; domestic hit music (such as chansons in France and schlagers in Nordic countries); and other. This classification was not intended to be all-encompassing but representative of the most theoretically interesting genres (Peterson 2005; Schmutz et al. 2010). For further analysis, opera (which was originally coded as a separate cultural area) was included within the category of classical music (Janssen et al. 2011).

Moreover, we merged the genres of electronic dance music and rap and hip-hop into the category of pop music. This resulted in a wider genre of “pop-rock” (Regev 2013), which reflects the gamut of pop music styles that have attracted young people in Western countries since the 1950s and 1960s, a meaningful category and genre of music in itself (Frith 1996; Regev 2013; Varriale 2016).

Besides the year and the newspaper, other independent variables used in the analysis include the following: the total number of cultural pages in the issue in which the article appeared, if the article appeared in the core culture section inside the main newspaper or in a supplement devoted to culture or some particular cultural area, the article length, and the article type (for the distribution and categories of each variable, see online supplement Table A.2 and Tables 3 and 5).

### **2.3 Method**

Both of our main analyses employed binary logistic regression modelling to examine dichotomous group memberships (whether each article discusses emerging or established cultural areas and whether each music article discusses pop-rock or some other genre). In both cases, we focus on associations with years, newspapers, and their interactions to see whether the timing and thoroughness of the cultural opening varies according to newspaper. The associations are expressed as odds ratios. We also give the Wald statistic for each individual independent variable and the Nagelkerke pseudo  $R^2$  as an effect size measure for the overall models. Despite the chosen method, the results of these logistic regressions should be considered as primarily descriptive and not revealing causal relationships between independent and dependent variables in the strictest sense. For example, the newspaper probably decides on the topic of the article before deciding how much space it will receive. These logistic regressions are an economical way to explore several associations simultaneously and test the significance of the interaction term between the time point and the newspaper.

In the logistic regressions, the time point is treated as a continuous variable, measuring the distance from the first year of the research period in decades (i.e. 1960=0, 1970=1, etc.). Thus, the odds ratio of the variable decade indicates how much the dependent variable has changed between ten-year sample intervals over the 1960–2010 research period.<sup>5</sup> Besides decade, newspaper and their interaction term, the logistic regression models include four control variables. The number of cultural pages is relevant, since we expect that well-established genres or areas of culture could be covered even in small cultural sections. By contrast, less established newcomers (such as the emerging areas considered here, or, within music, pop-rock) might emerge only if more space is

available. Similarly, it is possible that emerging cultural content is placed—at first, at least—in supplements instead of the supposedly more prestigious core culture section in the main part of each newspaper. Moreover, it is possible that established cultural content enjoys more space, whereas newcomers might (again, at first) be covered in smaller articles. The article type could work in the opposite way; well-established cultural content could be represented in reviews, whereas emerging popular culture could be covered rather in articles other than reviews. Hence, each of these control variables not only has its own reasons for being included in the analyses, but controlling for them also helps clarify if differences in cultural areas by decade and newspaper are due to differences in these structural features.

### 3. Results

#### 3.1 *The content of culture sections*

We first calculated the distributions of each article's primary cultural area. Table 2 shows how they have changed over time. Cultural areas are ordered according to their total size (Table 2, last column).

**Table 2.** Primary cultural area discussed in the articles by the year (percentages).

	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010	Total
Music	12.8	17.8	21.3	21.4	18.8	24.8	20.0
Literature	18.7	10.6	19.8	18.2	20.5	18.6	17.9
Film	10.8	11.4	9.5	11.0	14.3	12.4	12.0
TV	2.9	7.5	6.4	8.0	14.4	18.8	11.0
Theatre	20.1	18.1	10.1	9.4	5.8	4.0	10.0
Fine arts	6.9	7.2	6.1	7.5	6.1	4.2	6.2
Science, society, philosop	3.9	4.7	3.8	3.2	2.2	2.0	3.1
Cultural policy	2.0	4.1	4.9	3.8	2.2	2.3	3.1
Opera	4.1	2.8	2.4	3.4	1.5	1.4	2.4
Dance	1.2	2.5	2.4	2.9	2.3	2.1	2.3
Radio	4.0	3.3	2.4	0.9	0.6	0.5	1.6
Media/journalism	2.2	1.0	1.3	1.0	1.9	1.6	1.5
Cabaret, musical show	1.0	2.2	0.9	1.4	0.6	0.6	1.1
Photography	0.4	0.3	0.9	1.3	1.6	1.2	1.1
Architecture	0.9	0.9	1.3	1.1	1.1	0.8	1.0
Design	1.2	0.6	0.3	0.5	1.1	0.5	0.7
Comics	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.5	0.6	1.0	0.6
Fashion	0.5	0.2	0.0	0.3	0.3	0.9	0.4
Multimedia/video	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.6	0.4	0.3
Computer/console games	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.1
Other	6.2	4.5	5.7	3.8	3.5	1.7	3.9
<b>Total</b>	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<b>(N)</b>	(1,430)	(1,988)	(1,519)	(2,185)	(2,980)	(2,802)	(12,904)

The overall largest primary cultural area is music, covering one-fifth of all articles in the data. Music is followed by literature, film, TV, theatre, and the fine arts. All other cultural areas represent only a tiny proportion of articles. Already, this is very informative about the supposed increase of heterogeneity in cultural content. Traditional and established art forms clearly dominate the coverage, whereas many emerging cultural areas, such as comics, fashion, multimedia, or computer games (the smallest area, with only 12 articles in the entire data set), have not yet made their way into cultural pages. Of emerging cultural areas, only film and television have coverage comparable to the most established art forms.

Interpreting Table 2 from a temporal point of view indicates stability rather than major transformation. Some emerging areas were literally non-existent in the culture sections of earlier decades, but they remain very marginal, even in the 2000s. The prevalence of most of the largest areas has been rather stable. In fact, there are only two very clear cases of cultural areas that have experienced a major transformation in their newspaper coverage during the five decades considered: television, with its dramatically increased coverage, and theatre, with its equally dramatic decrease.

There is also considerable stability in the largest primary cultural areas discussed in articles across newspapers (see Table A.3 in the online supplement). Similarities among the newspapers are evident regarding the dominant position of music and literature. The only exception is *MIL*, as nearly half of its cultural articles cover television. The next most popular items in *MIL*—music and film—are clearly in accordance with the overall pattern. Furthermore, *MIL* is the only newspaper with wide coverage of radio. It is no surprise that Turkish *MIL* diverges from the other newspapers, given that, in Turkey, television viewing became typical in average middle-class households relatively late (1980s), thereby allowing radio to remain the main broadcast medium (Çaplı & Dündar 1995).

### 3.2 *Emerging versus established cultural areas*

As is already evident in Table 2, emerging cultural areas have not really challenged the dominant position of more established art forms in cultural pages. Due to the increase of articles on television and several smaller changes, the overall coverage of emerging cultural areas has nevertheless risen from 26.4% in 1960 to 40.5% in 2010 when calculated against established art forms. This trend sets the scene for a more detailed logistic regression analysis of the proportion of emerging cultural areas (Table 3). Here and in Table 5 below on the proportion of articles discussing pop-rock, we first estimate the impact of the time point (decade) and newspaper (model 1), then the interaction

between the decade and newspaper (model 2), which shows possible differences in how changes have occurred. Lastly, we estimate the role of the four control variables, measuring the structure and elements of the papers' cultural content (model 3). In addition, we present unadjusted associations between each independent variable and dependent variable.

**Table 3.** Articles on emerging (versus the established) cultural areas by year, newspaper and other independent variables (odds ratios and Wald statistics from logistic regression analysis).

	Unadjusted	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
<i>Decade (Wald)</i>	<i>130.00***</i>	<i>66.43***</i>	<i>13.93***</i>	<i>16.30***</i>
1960=0	1.15***	1.11***	1.13***	1.15***
<i>Newspaper (Wald)</i>	<i>872.58***</i>	<i>816.34***</i>	<i>206.38***</i>	<i>177.79***</i>
ABC/EP (ref.)	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
DN	1.10	1.13	1.63***	1.96***
GU	0.63***	0.62***	1.10	1.64**
HS	0.49***	0.49***	0.27***	0.33***
LM	1.02	1.05	1.13	1.44*
MIL	4.20***	3.95***	2.78***	2.76***
<i>Decade x Newspaper (Wald)</i>			<i>97.11***</i>	<i>99.79***</i>
Decade x ABC/EP (ref.)			1.00	1.00
Decade x DN			0.88**	0.87**
Decade x GU			0.83***	0.81***
Decade x HS			1.21***	1.19***
Decade x LM			0.98	0.98
Decade x MIL			1.10*	1.13*
<i>Number of cultural pages (Wald)</i>	<i>82.46***</i>			<i>28.10***</i>
1–2 (ref.)	1.00			1.00
3–5	0.77***			0.85*
6–10	1.27***			0.97
11 or more	0.96			1.25*
<i>Supplement (Wald)</i>	<i>58.52***</i>			<i>8.07**</i>
Not supplement (ref.)	1.00			1.00
Supplement	1.40***			0.82**
<i>Size of the article (Wald)</i>	<i>5.31</i>			<i>11.79**</i>
Smaller than a quarter page (ref.)	1.00			1.00
At least a quarter but less than full page	1.04			1.17**
Full page or more	1.19*			1.18
<i>Type of the article (Wald)</i>	<i>446.69***</i>			<i>290.57***</i>
Other (ref.)	1.00			1.00
Review	0.37***			0.42***
<i>Constant</i>		<i>0.37***</i>	<i>0.35***</i>	<i>0.36***</i>
<i><math>\chi^2</math> change of the model</i>		***	***	***
<i>Nagelkerke pseudo R<sup>2</sup> change</i>		<i>0.12</i>	<i>0.01</i>	<i>0.04</i>

N=11,595. \* p < 0.05; \*\* p < 0.01; \*\*\* p < 0.001.

The unadjusted associations between decades and emerging cultural areas shows that the odds ratio for articles on emerging cultural areas appears to rise 15% every decade. Whilst this association with time is quite modest, variation among the newspapers regarding journalistic attention paid to emerging areas is much stronger. *GU* and *HS* have significantly fewer articles on emerging cultural areas than *ABC/EP* (the reference category), *DN* and *LM*. *MIL*, however, has the highest proportion of articles on emerging areas.

Model 1 does not alter the unadjusted associations of decades and newspapers, but the interaction between the two, shown in model 2, is significant. This means that trends in the newspapers' proportions of articles on emerging cultural areas differ. The interaction terms indicate that *DN* and *GU* especially differ from *ABC/EP* (as well as *LM*, which does not differ from *ABC/EP*, the reference category) in that their trends in emerging cultural areas are even more modest, or, like in the case of *GU*, even slightly decreasing over the decades. On the other hand, *MIL* and *HS* show more clear increases in articles on emerging cultural areas. These variations among trends do not change between models 2 and 3 in Table 3, so controlling for other independent factors does not make a difference from the viewpoint of interaction between time point and newspaper.

Model 3 suggests that articles discussing emerging cultural areas are not unambiguously related to large culture sections, large article size, or location in supplements. As the unadjusted association of supplement shows, supplements included articles on emerging cultural areas more often than core cultural sections, but, in model 3, this relationship is inverted when other factors are considered (most of all, time point, as most of the supplements were published after 1990). Only article type is very strongly associated with whether an article discusses emergent or established art forms. Here, our expectation held true: other articles discuss emerging areas about three times more often than reviews.

The main result of this section and Table 3, however, is that the association between time point and proportion of articles on emerging cultural areas—which at first glance seemed to exist—does not actually hold when disentangled at the level of each newspaper. Thus, if judged by the increase in emergent forms, cultural openness has far from a clear and linear trend in newspapers across Europe.

### 3.3 Music: The rise of pop-rock

To test the hypothesis of openness according to the increase in popular genres, we focus on the music field and investigate how music coverage is divided according to different musical genres and how it has changed over time (Table 4).

**Table 4.** Articles on different musical genres (of all articles on music) by the year (percentages).

	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010	Total
Pop-rock	1.6	14.9	26.6	26.7	41.7	55.5	33.4
Classical music	83.9	61.5	45.8	50.9	33.4	22.8	43.6
Jazz	2.7	7.5	12.2	11.7	9.1	7.1	8.7
Domestic hit m	4.7	4.2	4.3	2.0	2.8	4.3	3.6
Traditional folk	2.4	4.7	3.5	2.7	2.6	1.9	2.9
World music	0.4	0.5	1.0	2.9	7.1	4.4	3.4
Other	4.3	6.8	6.6	2.9	3.4	4.0	4.4
<b>Total</b>	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<b>(N)</b>	(255)	(429)	(395)	(546)	(650)	(773)	(3,048)

Two genres, classical music and pop-rock, differ from the rest of the sample regarding their size. Almost 44% of all articles on music cover classical music, whereas one-third focuses on pop-rock. Whilst their proportions are not entirely different from each other, they have opposite trajectories: pop-rock coverage has increased dramatically, whereas classical music coverage has sharply decreased. Jazz, with its 9% coverage, and other smaller genres—such as domestic hit music, traditional folk music, and world music—have remained relatively stable over time, apart from the fact that world music was fairly unrepresented until 1990 and that jazz saw a clear rise from 1960 to its height in 1980–1990.

Altogether, pop-rock accounted for one-third of all music articles, and there is a huge and steady increase in its proportion, as shown in Table 4. But how has this proportion evolved between 1960 and 2010 in each of the six newspapers? In the case of the proportion of articles on emerging cultural areas, are there—again—significant differences in the victorious trajectory of pop-rock?

Table 5 shows that not only decades but also newspapers have significant and powerful associations with the prevalence of articles on pop-rock. Table 4 evidences the unadjusted association of time points, but there are also significant differences between the newspapers, with *GU*, *HS*, and *LM*, in particular, having published fewer articles on pop-rock than *ABC/EP* (or *DN*) and *MIL* clearly having published more. Moreover, there is a significant interaction between decade and individual newspapers. In contrast to the powerful interaction when predicting articles on emerging cultural areas in Table 3, the strength of the interaction here is much more modest. As shown by model 2,



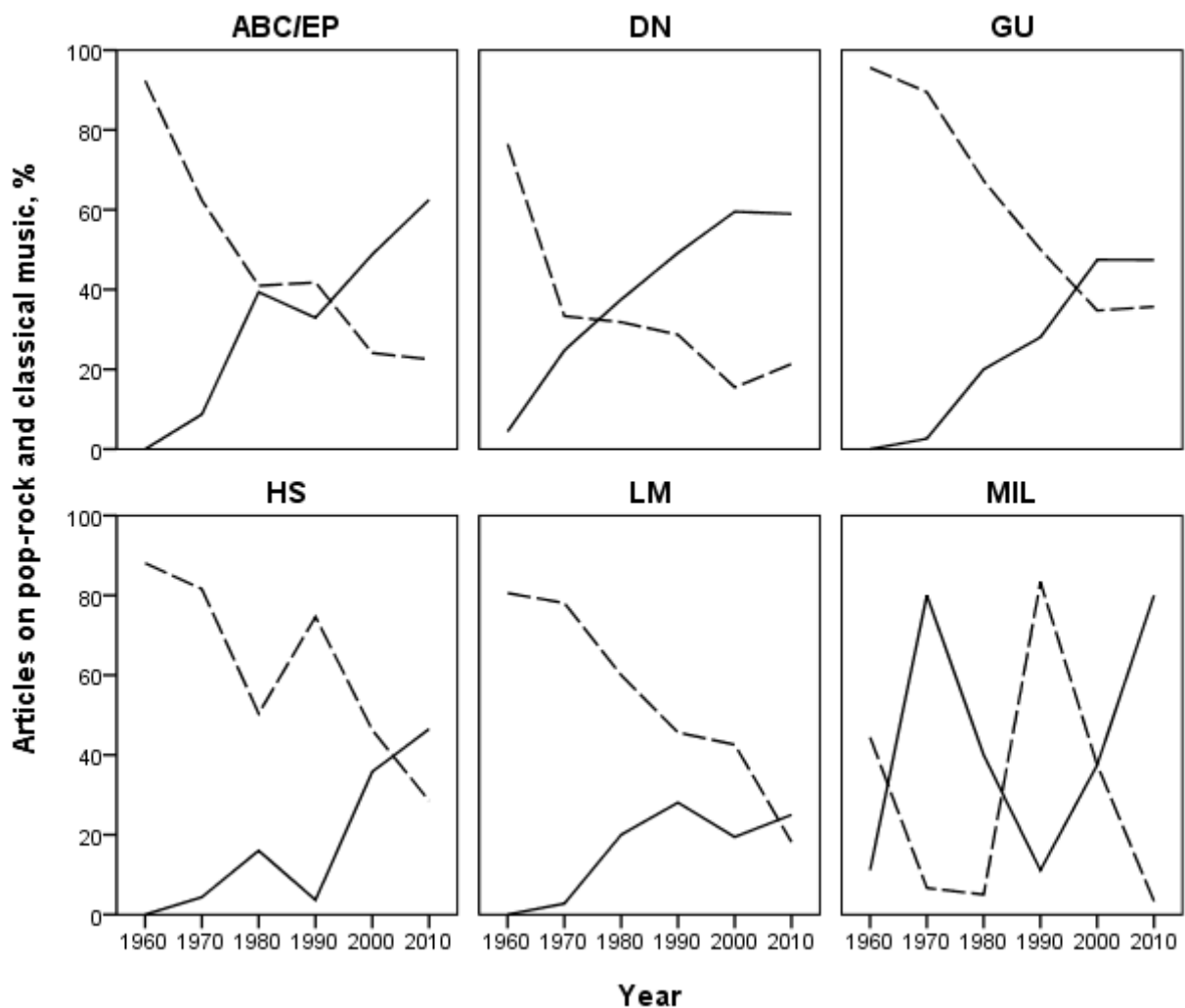
only *MIL* shows a statistically significant deviance from *ABC/EP*, this time suggesting that the increase in the proportion of pop-rock articles over each ten-year interval is less pronounced in *MIL* than in *ABC/EP* (the reference category). In fact, if the analysis is re-run excluding *MIL* from the data, the interaction between decade and newspaper is statistically insignificant.

**Table 5.** Articles on pop-rock music (of all articles on music) by year, newspaper and other independent variables (odds ratios and Wald statistics from logistic regression analysis).

	Unadjusted	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
<i>Decade (Wald)</i>	334.72***	309.55***	48.26***	21.98***
1960=0	1.71***	1.72***	1.77***	1.51***
<i>Newspaper (Wald)</i>	209.44***	182.30***	70.04***	64.29***
ABC/EP (ref.)	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
DN	1.06	1.39*	1.83	1.52
GU	0.74*	0.66**	0.57	0.65
HS	0.43***	0.42***	0.19***	0.21**
LM	0.29***	0.32***	0.51	0.33*
MIL	2.63***	2.08***	5.49***	5.64**
<i>Decade x Newspaper (Wald)</i>			20.27**	22.65***
Decade x ABC/EP (ref.)			1.00	1.00
Decade x DN			0.91	1.10
Decade x GU			1.04	1.01
Decade x HS			1.22	1.26*
Decade x LM			0.87	1.09
Decade x MIL			0.77*	0.74*
<i>Number of cultural pages (Wald)</i>	178.06***			0.94
1–2 (ref.)	1.00			1.00
3–5	1.78***			0.90
6–10	3.29***			0.85
11 or more	4.34***			0.82
<i>Supplement (Wald)</i>	276.41***			48.29***
Not supplement (ref.)	1.00			1.00
Supplement	4.33***			2.87***
<i>Size of the article (Wald)</i>	21.16***			1.06
Smaller than a quarter page (ref.)	1.00			1.00
At least a quarter but less than full page	1.11			1.00
Full page or more	2.19***			1.22
<i>Type of the article (Wald)</i>	0.00			0.70
Other (ref.)	1.00			1.00
Review	1.00			0.92
<i>Constant</i>		0.11***	0.10***	0.13***
<i><math>\chi^2</math> change of the model</i>		***	**	***
<i>Nagelkerke pseudo R<sup>2</sup> change</i>		0.25	0.01	0.03

N=3,044. \* p < 0.05; \*\* p < 0.01; \*\*\* p < 0.001.

When predicting the prevalence of articles on pop-rock music, the control variables measuring different elements of cultural content play a minor role. The only significant factor when controlling for other associations is whether the article appears in a supplement or in the core culture section; articles on pop-rock appear much more frequently in supplements than other types of music. Unadjusted associations also show that articles on pop-rock appear more frequently in the longest culture sections, as well as in the form of the longest articles. All these features are typical to the 2000s when there were longer culture sections, longer articles and more thematic cultural supplements—thus, with the exception of supplement, these associations disappear when controlling for the decade (model 3).



**Figure 1.** The proportion of articles on pop-rock (full line) versus the proportion of articles on classical music (dashed line) of all articles on music by year, separately on each six newspapers (percentages).

Figure 1 specifies our interpretation of the interaction between time points and newspapers by contrasting the rise of pop-rock with the decline of the proportion classical music articles. This allows us to inspect the moments when pop-rock articles outnumbered classical music articles in each newspaper. The increase in the prevalence of pop-rock articles has occurred in different ways across the newspapers. This is expected, since previous research also shows that the “size and timing of the shifts towards greater attention to popular music” (Schmutz 2009:305) has varied among countries, even if the main trend is clear. However, the differences are not entirely similar to our expectations.

*MIL* seems to show the earliest opening, yet, we should note that Western classical music has never had a similar status in Turkey as in other European countries. Thus, we cannot expect classical music to have attracted more journalistic attention in earlier decades. The high and volatile proportion of pop-rock articles is due to the fact that the main category against which pop-rock is analyzed has been so marginal in Turkey. Only 16% of all articles on music in *MIL* are on classical music, whilst the proportion in all the data is 44%. As for other newspapers, *DN* and *ABC/EP* interestingly turned their attention to pop-rock music earlier than *GU*, *HS*, and *LM*. In the latter group of newspapers, pop-rock does not begin to outnumber classical music until the 2000s.

#### 4. Discussion

In this paper, we engaged with literature that suggests a change in the ways culture and arts have been classified and valued in recent decades (DiMaggio 1987; Peterson & Kern 1996; Baumann 2007; Janssen et al. 2011). To empirically explore the heterogenization and opening of the content of legitimate culture, and to track trends in a longitudinal manner, we utilized newspaper data. We consider newspaper culture sections as a valuable medium for achieving this goal, especially when set against our focus on quality newspapers, as much of the literature is particularly concerned with high status groups’ tastes and practices (cf. Janssen et al. 2011:159). Moreover, for decades print media has been a crucial institution of cultural mediation, capable of attributing symbolic value by framing certain cultural forms as “culture” and “arts” when including them systematically in their culture sections and supplements.

Regarding our first hypothesis (H1a), we find the increase in the coverage of emergent cultural areas to be very moderate. Articles on established cultural forms (literature, music, etc.) are still the backbone of the arts and culture content of newspapers, despite the proliferation of cultural forms in

recent years. However, film and television ranked among the major cultural areas, so they seem to have managed to cross over validation boundaries (cf. Baumann 2007; Lavie & Dhoest 2015). In contrast, the latter part of our first hypothesis (H1b) is clearly supported, since attention to “pop-rock” music (Regev 2013) has almost exponentially increased, whereas the coverage of classical music is in sharp decline. This finding echoes Schmutz et al.’s (2010) analysis of the United States, France, Germany and the Netherlands (see also Schmutz 2009). When evaluated with this study, it is easier to suggest that the opening of culture via the diversification of legitimate musical genres resonates on a wide geographical level across Europe. To recap, the most strongly established art forms—like music—are far from being in decline in cultural sections, yet there are major shifts in the balance between traditional highbrow culture and more popular forms within the well-established arts.

When interpreting these findings, we must remember the nature and context of our research object: European quality newspapers and their culture sections. These are a kind of “home court” of classical highbrow arts through which many people follow the arts even when they lack interest in them otherwise (cf. Jaakkola 2015; Janssen et al. 2008, 2011). As such, it is perhaps not so surprising that established art forms still dominate, yet music coverage’s transformation can be considered very dramatic. Many of the various theoretical perspectives on cultural heterogenization discussed in the introduction offer potential interpretations and conceptual tools for further investigations of this situation. The key question, in line with debates on emerging forms of cultural capital and the legitimation processes of popular culture, would ask, under the circumstances of increased heterogeneity and, in music, even the dominance of pop-rock, what the major hierarchies are and how they are articulated. Is it a matter of extending the high-art criteria of evaluation to the sphere of popular culture, or are there other bases for making distinctions (cf. Van Venroij & Schmutz 2010; Prieur & Savage 2013)? Furthermore, from the point of view of aesthetic cosmopolitanism, what are the countries of origin of the pop-rock music that has appeared on cultural pages of newspapers? How are different countries of origin related to legitimacy and hierarchies? And is the expansion of pop-rock really a matter of uniform “global culture”, or has it been domesticated differently in different parts of the world (cf. Regev 2013; Varriale 2016)? Questions like these have already generated research, but more is still needed, and this paper’s bird’s-eye view of trends—as well as the data set—might be useful for further analyses. It is also clear that our quantitative content analysis is far from exhaustive; rather, it maps the overall trends that merit closer attention and analysis. Thus, future research also needs to employ qualitative approaches to clarify such questions.

While our findings support our second major hypothesis—our selected European newspapers show variance in the timing and thoroughness of the opening of legitimate culture—the manner in which the newspapers differed was not totally in accordance with our expectations (H2a–b). When the evolution of the proportions of emergent versus established art forms over time is used as a proxy for cultural opening, the newspapers in our sample can be placed in the following order of approximate openness: (1) *ABC/EP*, *DN*, (*MIL*); (2) *LM*; (3) *GU*; and (4) *HS*. However, when the between-genre evolutions within an established art form—in this case, classical versus pop-rock music—is taken as a proxy for cultural opening, the order is slightly different: (1) *DN*, (*MIL*); (2) *ABC/EP*; (3) *GU*; and (4) *LM*, *HS*. In both cases, the position of *GU* as a relative latecomer was unexpected, since the UK is more centrally positioned in the global system than other countries in the sample, its media system is arguably more liberal, and it is not included among the countries where state funding for the established arts is high (H2a). In other words, rather than indicating society-level dimensions, the result relates to the characteristics and position of *The Guardian* itself. Moreover, *MIL* can be ranked in the first category in both measures, but its position really merits the brackets; the journalistic attention that *MIL* shows to emergent cultural forms and pop-rock today is not part of a gradual opening process, since Western highbrow culture was never canonized in Turkey (Belge 1996). Rather, Turkey occupies a peripheral position in the globalization scale, and the state's attempt to Westernize its cultural sphere following the foundation of the secular republic was never effective enough to heighten established art forms.<sup>6</sup> In that sense, while *MIL* appears to be among the most open case in our sample, it demonstrates the geographical and cultural limits of the Western cultural canon rather than suggesting a trend towards cultural declassification. Thus, the main lesson taken from *MIL* in this study is that, while *MIL* does not show the same European trends evident in other newspapers, it can nevertheless be interpreted as indirectly validating the results on the opening of legitimate culture in other European countries.

Taken together, our results are quite divergent when it comes to the three society-level dimensions discussed: the newspaper's position in the global cultural system (Appadurai 1996), media system models (Hallin & Mancini 2004), and cultural policy regimes (Looseley 2011). For instance, European (and even global) centres of popular culture, such as the UK and France, have, in the cases of *GU* and *LM*, a rather traditional outlook on culture. In addition, Finland and Sweden, similar countries both politically and policy-wise, show clear differences through *DN* and *HS*, irrespective of the fact that both newspapers are embedded in a similar cultural policy regime and democratic-corporatist media system. One may ask whether the comparative media system model

approach is ultimately a suitable framework in the case of these kinds of “close” comparisons of culture and arts coverage in quality newspapers, as the model heavily focuses on media systems’ institutional, legal, and political dimensions (Hallin & Mancini 2004).

The data nevertheless reflect some structural similarities. For instance, the peculiar political history of Francoist Spain could be traced through the cultural coverage of *ABC/EP*, turning rapidly from a conservative perspective towards popular culture. Also, the difference between *DN* and *HS*—*HS* (together with *LM*) representing the most conservative newspapers in this sense and *DN* being characterized by its early breakthrough of pop-rock coverage—is again illustrative. Though *HS* and *DN* share similar media system models and cultural policy regimes, the difference may be due to Sweden’s more central position in the global (and European) cultural system, as expected (H2b). Moreover, rather than being reduced to any of the three society-level dimensions considered, the difference could be better accounted for with field-specific and institutional factors. As for music, Sweden has deeper roots in the popular music industry (Seabrook 2015), whereas, in Finland’s field of music and general culture, the position of classical music has been very strong throughout the twentieth century (Korhonen 2002). Furthermore, the difference might be due to generational changes inside cultural departments (Jaakkola 2015).

Thus, it is difficult to demarcate the roles of field-specific characteristics and society-level characteristics in the shaping of newspapers’ cultural coverage. It may be tempting to overestimate the role of the latter, whereas the organizational or field-level factors may sound relevant only when the results are not in line with society-level expectations. Perhaps not surprisingly, previous studies by Janssen et al. (2011) and Schmutz et al. (2010) identify the same issue. Janssen et al. show that shifts from highbrow to popular cultural coverage in European newspapers were not entirely consistent with society-level factors. They conclude that the “‘popularization’ of arts journalism may be primarily associated with field-level rather than society-level factors” (2011:160). We can only wholeheartedly concur, while also agreeing with Schmutz et al. that “there is considerable variation in the cultural hierarchies of the [four] countries, even though the overarching trend has been towards more ‘general validation’ of popular music as indicated by its inclusion in the pages of elite newspapers” (2010:507).

Overall, we see that newspapers are a good source for studying shifts in cultural legitimacy and hierarchies, while different extra-cultural contexts (whether socio-cultural, historical, policy related, organizational, or simply the results of editorial decisions) also play a role in what newspapers

legitimize and present as art and culture. The paradox of such data is perhaps this: on the one hand, newspaper culture sections are sensitive to different types of trends and changes in how culture is valued and evaluated (which is the reason to study culture sections in the first place); yet, this sensitivity can simultaneously lead to muddled results if there are large-scale and rapid transformations occurring in the newspapers' socio-political environments. On the other hand, the entire premise of studying cultural change through newspaper culture sections rests on the idea that the status and the role of newspapers as institutions are relatively stable. Otherwise, it would be impossible to use newspapers as a fixed point of departure enabling the investigation of large, long-term processes that are of interest to cultural sociologists, such as the de-hierarchization, popularization, and globalization of culture (cf. Baumann 2007; Janssen et al. 2008; Fishman & Lizardo 2013). The case of Turkish *MIL* exemplifies the social sensitivity of the newspaper data in the first sense, whereas the other newspapers represent the relative stability of the institution, allowing us to show how the opening and expansion of the sphere of legitimate culture has taken place in different parts of Europe since the 1960s.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> In the last few years, the Internet and other digital devices have become significant competitors of traditional print newspapers (McChesney 2011). It is yet unknown what this means for newspapers' and traditional critics' authority as cultural mediators (Verboord 2010). This new situation obviously affects our data, albeit only regarding the last year (2010) in our sample.

<sup>2</sup> The data were collected as part of a larger research project aiming to analyze the changing relationship between cultural and social stratification in post-1960s Europe (Purhonen, 2012; Purhonen et al., 2015).

<sup>3</sup> Following a careful planning of the coding system, the data were coded (by eleven coders altogether) between 2014 and 2015. Before the final coding procedure, a preliminary, more restricted coding system was established and tested on *GU* and *HS* using only three sample years (Purhonen et al., 2015).

<sup>4</sup> Because an article may include a discussion on multiple cultural areas, the coding system defined the "primary cultural area" of the article as the cultural area mentioned first, preferably deducible from the headline (or similar) of the article itself.

<sup>5</sup> If time points had been used as a categorical variable, it would have resulted in too many interaction terms to be reasonably reported.

<sup>6</sup> The finding regarding the rise of emergent cultural forms can also relate to the peculiar position of *MIL* in the Turkish media field (Adakli 2009). *MIL* was known to lean into the social democratic tradition until it was bought by a major industrial conglomerate in Turkey in the 1980s, which led to a change in the paper's publishing style. Moreover, the business group that bought *MIL* established a TV channel in 1993, which has become one of the most popular private channels in Turkey. It is likely that an important portion of the paper's dramatic increase in TV articles stems from the economic field's monopoly over media and cultural journalism.

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## Online supplementary materials

**Table A.1.** Basic information about the newspapers studied.

	Circulation 1960	Circulation 2010	Current owner	Founding year
<i>The Guardian</i> (“GU”) from the UK	264,695 (1961) <sup>a</sup>	282,002 <sup>b</sup>	Guardian Media Group	1821
<i>Dagens Nyheter</i> (“DN”) from Sweden	341,000 (1958) <sup>c</sup>	298,200 <sup>b</sup>	Bonnier AB	1864
<i>Helsingin Sanomat</i> (“HS”) from Finland	251,492 <sup>d</sup>	383,361 <sup>b</sup>	Sanoma Media Finland	1889
<i>Le Monde</i> (“LM”) from France	166,000 <sup>e</sup>	319,022 <sup>b</sup>	La Vie-Le Monde	1944
<i>ABC</i> (“ABC”) from Spain (used only for 1960–1970)	180,000 <sup>f</sup>	249,539 <sup>b</sup>	Vocento	1903
<i>El País</i> (“EP”) from Spain (used only for 1980–2010)	–	370,080 <sup>b</sup>	Liberty Acquisition Holding	1976
<i>Milliyet</i> (“MIL”) from Turkey	154,124 (1969) <sup>g</sup>	178,453 <sup>h</sup>	Demirören Holding	1950

<sup>a</sup> Taylor, G. (1993). *Changing Faces: A history of The Guardian 1956–88*. London: Fourth Estate.

<sup>b</sup> IFABC (2013). *National Newspapers Total Circulation 2011 by International Federation of Audit Bureaux of Circulations*. Available from <[http://www.ifabc.org/site/assets/media/National-Newspapers\\_total-circulation\\_IFABC\\_17-01-13.xls](http://www.ifabc.org/site/assets/media/National-Newspapers_total-circulation_IFABC_17-01-13.xls)> (accessed 18 December 2016).

<sup>c</sup> Gustafsson, K.E. & Rydén, P. (2010). *A History of the Press in Sweden*. Gothenburg: Nordicom.

<sup>d</sup> The Päivälehti archives.

<sup>e</sup> Kelly, M., Mazzoleni, G., & McQuail, D. (eds.) (2014). *The Media in Europe: The Euromedia Handbook*. London: Sage.

<sup>f</sup> Davara Torrego, F.J. (2005). Los periódicos españoles en el tardo franquismo: Consecuencias de la nueva ley de prensa. *Revista Comunicación y Hombre*, 1, 131–147.

<sup>g</sup> Şenyapılı, Ö. (1971). 1970'lerin Başında Sayılarla Türk Basını (1950-1970 Yılları Arasındaki Gelişme, Sayısal Analiz, Genel Tutumlar ve Durum). *Amme İdaresi Dergisi*.

<sup>h</sup> Yay Sat. Gazetelerin Ortalama Haftalık Satışları. Available from <<http://www.yaysat.com.tr/gazete+tirajlar.html?ct=TotalSales&StartDate=24.05.2010&EndDate=30.05.2010>> (accessed 15 December 2016).

**Table A.2.** Distribution of the control variables included in the logistic regression analyses.

	N	%
<i>Number of cultural pages</i>		
1–2	2,931	22.3
3–5	4,189	31.8
6–10	2,796	21.2
11 or more	3,245	24.7
<i>Supplement</i>		
Not supplement	10,048	76.3
Supplement	3,113	23.7
<i>Size of the article</i>		
Smaller than a quarter page	7,928	60.3
At least a quarter but less than full page	4,339	33.0
Full page or more	875	6.7
<i>Type of the article</i>		
Other	9,328	70.9
Review	3,833	29.1
Total	13,161	100.0

**Table A.3.** Six largest cultural areas discussed in the articles by the newspaper (percentages).

	ABC/EP	DN	GU	HS	LM	MIL	Total
1.	Literature	Music	Music	Music	Literature	TV	Music
	22.4	21.8	26.4	24.9	23.6	44.0	20.0
2.	Music	Literature	Literature	Literature	Film	Music	Literature
	15.2	13.0	19.7	18.4	16.9	16.3	17.9
3.	Film	Theatre	Theatre	Theatre	Music	Film	Film
	14.7	11.3	13.4	13.1	14.1	12.8	12.0
4.	TV	Film	Film	Fine arts	Theatre	Literature	TV
	9.6	11.1	11.1	8.5	10.3	6.9	11.0
5.	Fine arts	TV	TV	Film	Fine arts	Radio	Theatre
	7.9	8.4	7.0	6.8	6.8	4.9	10.0
6.	Other	Cultural policy	Fine arts	TV	TV	Fine arts	Fine arts
	6.7	6.3	5.3	4.1	6.1	3.3	6.2
Total	76.5	71.9	82.9	75.8	77.8	88.2	77.1